

## UNCLE TOM'S CABIN.

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## WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, MAY 6, 1852.

## TO SUBSCRIBERS.

As the Presidential campaign is about to open, an opportunity is offered to those who wish to subscribe for the Era for six months. They can send in their subscriptions by the first of June, for half a volume, which will carry them through the canvass and election up to the first of December. We republish below our general terms.

Week after next, we shall commence a publication of a novel, entitled "Rank and Nobility," of rare interest. It will probably run through ten or a dozen numbers of the Era, and before its close we cherish the hope of again introducing Mrs. Stowe to our readers.

We trust, therefore, that no subscriber will suffer his paper to be stopped; and may not expect to receive accessions to our list! A club of ten new subscribers just from Kalamazoo, Michigan, by N. M. Thomas of that place, is the forerunner, we hope, of many of the same sort.

The terms of the paper are as follows:—  
Single copy, one year - \$2  
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A club of three subscribers (one of whom may make it up to a copy of the Era three months; a club of five for six months may be ordered) at \$8, to a copy of two months; a club of ten for six months may be ordered) at \$15, to a copy of one year.

Money to be forwarded by mail, at our risk. Large amounts may be remitted in drafts or certificates of deposit.

It will be seen that the price of the paper, single copy, is still \$2 a year. Agents sometimes allow a subscriber who obtain or renew, the benefit of their commission, so that the subscriber by their kindness gets his paper for \$1.50 or \$1.75, as the case may be.

The story of "The Unsubscribable," by a new and unknown author, on our first page, opens fully.

We have referred to the able speech delivered by Mr. Smart of Maine, in the House of Representatives, on the 23d ult., in vindication of the North against the charge of aggression. A large portion of it we lay before our readers in this week's Era. After referring briefly to legislation by Congress in relation to Slavery, and giving a history of the manner in which this seat of Government was located in this district, he commences the survey of the relative benefits derived by the North and South from the Union, which we present on our fourth page.

Mrs. DENNIS, the widow of a respectable physician of New York, has accepted the agency of the *Musical World and Journal of the Fine Arts*, which has been tendered to her on such terms as may enable her to derive from it an honorable support. She presents herself with cordial testimonials from Doctors Cheever and Tying of New York, and other well-known editors; and the work for which she solicits patronage is of a high order of merit. She has already obtained in this city some two hundred subscribers, to whom she intends to express her heartfelt thanks, and as she intends to visit her relatives, for a similar purpose, we commend her enterprise to the public.

## LAWS OF SOUTHERN STATES IN REGARD TO COLORED SEAMEN.

The law of South Carolina, under which colored seamen entering her ports are imprisoned, is at last to be brought to a judicial test. Manuel Pereira, a colored Portuguese sailor, arrested to service on an English brig which was lately driven into Charleston by stress of weather, having been arrested and incarcerated, Mr. Matthew, British Consul at that port, applied through his counsel, Mr. Pettigrew, to Judge Walker, for a writ of *habeas corpus*. The Judge refusing to grant the writ, notice of an appeal was given, and this will probably bring the case ultimately before the Supreme Court for adjudication. It will be recollected that Mr. Hoar, commissioned by Massachusetts to bring his law before the judicial tribunals, was promptly expelled from the State. John Ball is promptly with a little more consideration.

It would seem from the following paragraph in the *Charleston Mercury* of the 27th ultimo, that Louisiana is about to adopt a more rational and liberal course on the subject. It says—

"The Legislature of Louisiana, after full consideration of the representations that have been addressed to them, have repealed those provisions of their law which provided for the imprisonment of colored seamen from abroad, and have substituted for this a provision allowing such seamen to land for their necessary duties, with passports from the Mayor. We have not yet seen the statute, and cannot say whether it applies to colored seamen from the North as well as from foreign countries. In regard to the former, we should be decidedly opposed to placing them on the same footing as the latter, except where they are driven into our ports by stress of weather. But, even in regard to them, it seems to us that our law ought to be changed on the principle of the laws of the United States. Let colored seamen from the North be forbidden to enter our ports, and let their introduction into the vessel to a fine of a thousand dollars for every one, and we venture to say we should be no more troubled with the visits of these 'citizens of Massachusetts.' We shall get a ship."

We call not believe that the Legislature has made any such mean discrimination in favor of foreigners against their own countrymen, till we have indisputable proof of the fact. That the *Charleston Mercury* should advocate such a discrimination is in keeping with its general character. It has no love of equity, and long since ceased to be an American journal. The contemptible policy it recommends is clearly exposed by the New York *Evening Post*.

The Governments of these countries (France and Great Britain) have been endeavoring to enforce the rights of their subjects in South Carolina. It is proper, therefore, that a black cook from a British vessel should go on shore un molested. Massachusetts has no shore. If, therefore, there is a colored man among the crew of a Massachusetts vessel, he is seized, and imprisoned till the vessel departs. The citizens of

the free States of the Union are not to be allowed the same liberties in the slave States as the subjects of a European Kingdom.

We are not greatly surprised that this new indignity should be meditated, encouraged as it is by the submission with which the previous ones have been received."

## SECTIONALISM—STATE RIGHTS—NON-INTERVENTION.

The Washington Union, the alpha and omega of whose Democracy is the duty of slave-catching, thus discourses on Sectionalism and State Rights:

"We have never believed that the Southern Press was the organ of the State Rights party, in the sense in which this party forms a portion of the Democracy of the Union. It is as far out of the line of this party at the South as the National Era is at the North. Both parties are essentially sectional, and neither of them can succeed without breaking up the national organization of parties. The one looks to a Southern Confederacy, the other, to the abolition of slavery, in violation of the compact of the Constitution. To suppose that either the one or the other can force their extreme views on the Democratic party, is to say that this party contains within itself the element of self-destruction."

If Slavery be national and Liberty sectional, then the Era is sectional. If Liberty be national and Slavery sectional, the Union is sectional.

Liberty is the great interest of all the States of this Union; for its preservation and extension, the Union was founded and the Federal Government organized. Slavery is an interest cherished by not a third of our population, nor was the Union formed or the Government organized, for the purpose of perpetuating or extending it. The National Era is devoted to Liberty; the Washington Union to Slavery; which is sectional?

One of the amendments to the Constitution provides that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the People." Our State Rights doctrine is all embraced in this provision; nor can the Union, nor any of its sectional allies point to a single opinion we have ever uttered, or measure advocated, in conflict with it. We charge that the Union, not only has no advocated measures proposed to this provision, but that it is seeking to make one of these measures, the Fugitive Slave Law, the test of Democratic orthodoxy. The power to enact this law, or any one on the subject, is "not delegated by the Constitution to the United States, nor prohibited by it to the States."

It is therefore a reserved State power, and the law is a violation of State Rights, the offspring of Federal usurpation. The Era opposes it, and demands its repeal: the Union sustains it, and insists that its maintenance shall be made the test of Democracy—a law, enacted by Federal power, without warrant, in violation of State Rights, the pillar and ground of the Democratic party!

No, it is the Union that advocates consolidation; the Era is a State Rights paper.

Our Federal neighbor has the hardihood to assert that the Era looks "to the abolition of Slavery, in violation of the compact of the Constitution." The assertion is false. The Union cannot produce in support of it, a single opinion ever expressed by us, a statement ever made, an act ever done. The practical principle which dictates and defines the national political action we advocate in relation to Slavery, is *Non-Intervention with Slavery and the Extradition of Slaves*; and this is a logical sequence, first of the great doctrine held by Madison, and distinctly announced by Judge McLean from the Supreme Bench within a few years—that the Federal Constitution does not recognize the idea of property in man; secondly, of the doctrine of State Rights.

The provision relating to the importation or migration of such persons as any of the States might think proper to admit, as originally introduced, seemed to imply that human beings might be property. Mr. Madison opposed it, because he could not bear that the Constitution they were about forming should tolerate the idea that there could be property in man. The Convention sympathized with him, and the phraseology was modified, so as to connect such an implication. This, taken in connection with the language of the instrument itself, is authority enough for us. The Federal Constitution nowhere recognises the idea of property in man—nowhere, in the language of Judge McLean, regards slaves as property. Now, as the essential element of slaveholding is the property relation, and as the relation without law, and as the Federal Government cannot recognise or treat human beings as property, Slavery cannot exist in violation of the Constitution. As a matter of fact, we find it existing in the District of Columbia, and how? When the territory was ceded to the Federal Government, the laws of Maryland and Virginia, including those which recognise human beings as property, were adopted or reenacted by express statute of Congress. This statute, so far as it treats human beings as property, we hold to be unconstitutional. Non-Intervention, which in our creed is the duty of the Federal Government in relation to Slavery, would therefore leave the system in this District without the form of law. The same doctrine and principle applied to our Territories, would make Slavery in them a legal impossibility.

But they are safe for the South: for they completely exclude the idea of all interference by Congress with the institution, as existing under State authority. Non-Intervention by the Federal Government with Slavery in the States leaves it without the boundaries of national politics or national parties.

The other doctrine referred to—that of State Rights—forbids legislation by Congress or any action by the Federal Government, in relation to the extradition of fugitives from service or labor. The provision of the Constitution on this subject imposes an obligation on the States, not on the Federal Government. It may be effectuated by State legislation; it is certain that it contains no grant of power to Congress to legislate. The right of reclamation is secured, but the power to prescribe the manner in which the right shall be exercised, not being delegated to Congress, not being necessary to its use, and not being prohibited to the States, is reserved to the States, in accordance with the Amendment to the Constitution above quoted.

We are aware that the authority of the Supreme Court is against the view of the subject; but the decisions of that tribunal are not infallible. They may be reconsidered—they are not irreversible. Public Opinion changes. The opinions of the Supreme Judiciary cannot destroy the right of Congress to repeal a law pronounced constitutional, or the right of a State Legislature to enact a law pronounced unconstitutional, with a view to the reconsideration of the question of its constitutionality.

Certainly, the doctrines we have just presented, sustaining the position of Non-Intervention by the Federal Government with Slavery and the extradition of slaves, were fully

sanctioned by Mr. Webster, in his 7th of March speech, in 1850.

1st. As to the absence of the recognition of chattel slavery by the Constitution. Mr. Webster held the following language:

"It may not be improper here to allude to that I had almost said celebrated opinion of Mr. Madison. You observe, sir, that the term slavery is not used in the Constitution. The Constitution does not require that fugitive slaves shall be delivered up; it requires that persons bound to service in one State, and occupying another, shall be delivered up. Mr. Madison opposed the introduction of the term slave or slavery into the Constitution; for he said he did not wish to see it recognised by the Constitution of the United States—Speech in U. S. Senate, March 7, 1850."

2dly. As to the absence of power in the Federal Government to legislate for the extradition of fugitives from service or labor, he said—

"This article of the Constitution which gives to the States the right to deliver up fugitives from service, is as binding in honor and conscience as any other article. No man fulfills his duty in any Legislature who sets himself to find excuses, evasions, escapes from this constitutional duty. I have always thought that the Constitution addressed itself to the Legislatures of the States themselves, and to the States themselves. It says that those persons escaping to other States shall be delivered up, and I confess I have always been of the opinion that it was an injunction upon the States themselves. When it is said that a person escaping into another State, and he coming there within the jurisdiction of the States, shall be delivered up, it seems to me in the importance of the passage is, that the State itself, in obedience to the Constitution, shall cause him to be delivered up. That is my judgment. I have always entertained it, and I entertain it now."

The opinions Mr. Webster held in 1850, and which he declared he had always held, are our opinions now; and were they sufficient to control the legislation of the country, the question of Slavery would be excluded from the sphere of national politics. So far as the North would be concerned, it would be resolved into a purely moral question, to be treated by moral instrumentalities. So long as the citizens of the free States shall be forced into the support of Slavery, by the action of the Federal Government, so long will those of them who are Anti-Slavery in their views seek by political means to correct this unconstitutional, relieve them from this forced, unconstitutional, and unconstitutional. Place the Federal Government in relation to Slavery on the ground of strict Non-Intervention, and National politics will be freed from this disturbing element from the constant cause of sectional antagonisms.

Politics-economists would continue to argue on the subject of slaveholding, philanthropists to discuss it as a question of humanity, religious men to inquire into their denominational relations to it and the Public Opinion of the North would constantly bear against the system. But political agitation would cease with the removal of political responsibility.

But the politicians of the South are infuriated. They know that the North has the numerical power; that two-thirds of the whole population reside within its limits; that it has majorities in both branches of the Federal Legislature; that its relative political power increases and must increase with every census; that at this very time, if united, it could spare several votes, and yet fill the Presidential chair;—still, they insist upon dragging it into the support of an evil it detests; they force upon it odious, extra-constitutional responsibilities, provoking an agitation dangerous to the institution they would perpetuate. If they want peace, if they would retain the right of settling the question of slavery for themselves, let them cease to make it a subject of Federal action, let them consent to the repeal of all Federal legislation concerning it, let them take their position on the ground of absolute Non-Intervention in regard to it by the Federal Government, and so place an impassable gulf between them and that Northern majority, which will go on increasing until it shall bear sway on whatever questions may be subjected to its action.

## KOSKUTH.

Koskuth is now in Boston. His journey from the moment he entered New England became triumphant. The People at every considerable town and station on his way greeted him with kind words and "material aid." In Boston he has been received by the Governor, with imposing display, and the Bostonians are deluging themselves with his eloquence.

We understand from one of his suite in New York that it was his purpose to leave Boston for England, where we suppose, he and Mazzini will labor to give direction and efficiency to the revolutionary movement.

The honors with which he has been received in New England have been paid, not so much to the man, as to the Principle he represents. We trust that his last impressions of America may be pleasant. Whether his visit on the whole has been an agreeable one, is doubtful. It seems to us that he misinterpreted the intention of our Government for his release; misconceived the spirit of our foreign policy; failed to appreciate the character of our People; and overrated his ability to influence their views and purposes. Disappointment with them and with the Government has been the result.

Another thing fruitful of embarrassment and disagreeable misunderstanding, was the fact of his being attended by so large a retinue. It was expensive and troublesome, and did no good. Had Koskuth, unattended except by two or three of his secretaries, made the tour of the United States, he would have avoided many awkward difficulties, and the entertainers as well as the guest would have been better satisfied.

As to the effect of his visit and his captivating oratory, it has been less than the demonstrations on his arrival led the Public to anticipate. He has pined upon us, and we have not danced; he has mourned upon us, and we have not lamented. The People have been moved, but not to action. Americans appreciate genius, and may kindly at his burning words, but they seldom act from their impulses. The *cui boni* is always with them ruling question.

But, this much has been gained: the People have been awakened to a deeper interest in the affairs of Europe, and to the fact that they have responsibilities in relation to the cause of Liberty throughout the world; and it is not improbable that they now are better qualified than before the agitation consequent on the advent of Koskuth, should Europe again be convulsed by Revolution, to assume their true position; and Koskuth himself has collected money enough to aid him in carrying on an extensive revolutionary correspondence.

EARTHQUAKE SHOCKS AT WASHINGTON.—At the Washington Observatory, today, April 29th, at precisely nine minutes to one o'clock, two distinct shocks of earthquake were felt, at intervals of one second. After the lapse of two minutes, three other shocks were experienced in quick succession, of still greater violence. These were followed by a strong smell of sulphur. The officers then came outside the building and remarked that no smell of any kind was perceptible in the atmosphere. The shocks were plainly felt in various parts of the city. The clerks of the Interior (located in Winder's building) ran out quite alarmed.

## Per the National Era.

## QUESTIONS OF LIFE.

And the angel that was sent unto him, whose name was Ariel, said unto him, "The heart hath gone too far in this world, and thou hast not comprehended the way of the Most High."

Then said I, "Yea, my lord." Then said he unto me, "Go thy way, weigh me the weight of the fire, or measure me the blast of the wind, or call me again the day that is past."

A bending staff I would not break, A feeble flint I would not shake, Nor even rashly pluck away, The error which some truth may stay, Whose loss might leave the soul without A shield against the shafts of doubt.

And yet, at times, when over all A darker mystery seems to fall, (May God forgive the faith of dust, Who seeks to know, where Faith must trust.) I raise the questions, old and dark, Of Uriah's tempted Patriarch, And, speech-confounded, build again The scaffold tower of Shinar's plain.

I am, how little more I know! I come, I go, I wonder I go? A centred self which feels and is— A cry between the silences; A shadow-birth of clouds and strife, With sunshine on the hills of life; A shaft, from Nature's quiver, sent, Into the future, from the Past, Between the cradle and the shroud, A meteor's flight from cloud to cloud.

I see the vastness, arching all, I see the great stars rise and fall, The shining seasons come and go, The tides of ocean ebb and flow, The thicket of the forest, And the tokens of a central Power, Whose circles, in their widening course, O'erlap and move the Universe; The rhythmic harmony of things, Which shapes in earth the dawning star, And sets in heaven the morning star, Of all I see, in earth and sky, Star, flower, beast, bird—what part have I? This conscious life—is it the same Which thrills the universal frame, Whereby the carved crystal shoots, And mounts the sap from forest roots, Whereby the exiled wood-bird tells When Spring wakes green her native dells?

How close she stole the pang of birth, Which brings the sparkling prism forth? The forest tree the throb which gives The life-blood to the new-born leaves? Do bird and blossom feel like me Life's many-folded mystery? The wonder which it is, to be? Or stand I severed and distinct, From Nature's chain of life unlinked? Alas! to feel the least Presumed in separate consciousness, Alone, or burdened with a sense Of oneness, and consequence?

In vain to me the Sphinx propounds The riddle of her sights and sounds; But back she calls me, and I go, The school of question it receives. What is the brook's own? What oracle Is in the pine-tree's bark? What may the wind's low burden be? The meaning of the moaning sea?

The hieroglyphics of the stars? Or clouded sunset's crimson haze? I vainly ask, for mooks my skill The trick of Nature's mystery still. I turn from Nature unto man, I ask the stylus and the pen: What say the bards of old? What meant The prophets of the Orient? To me, the olden Egypt hid In painted tomb and pyramid? What mean Idem's arrow lines, Or dusk Ikem's monstrous signs? How speak the primal thought of man From the grim carvings of Copen? Where roars the secret? Where the keys Of life's old death-bolted mysteries? Alas! the dead realm their trust: Dead hath no answer from the dust.

The great enigmas still unguessed, Unanswered the eternal quest; I gather up the scattered rays Of wisdom in the early days, Faint gleams and broken, like the light Of oysters in a Northern night, Betraying to the dawning earth The unseen sun which gave them birth; I listen to the Sybil's chant, The voice of priest and hierophant; I know what India Kresna said, And what of life and what of death, And what beneath his golden trees, The solemn thought of Plato said; Nor lack I tokens, great or small, Of God's clear light in each and all, While holding with more dear regard The scroll of Hebrew Seer and Bard, The story pages pourer lit, Thy Christ's Evangel over-writ, Thy mirror of Life and Death, Oh Holy One of Nazareth!

On Aster ruins, gray and lone, The circling serpent coils in stone, A type of wisdom and unknown; Whereof we seek the clue to find, With groping fingers of the blind? Forever sought and never found, We trace that serpent-symbols round Our resting-place, our starting point: Oh thoughtfulness of dream and guess! Oh wisdom, which is foolishness! Why didst seek from outward things Thy secret beyond our proper sphere? Why climb, for that which lies so near? Why elude the far-off hills with pain, A nearer view of beaky gale? In lowliest depths of heaven dwell The hermit's pine-hung slopes, dwells A fountain's pulse-hung slope, dwells A lotus-twined his silent foot, And Lotus, piercing heaven with scorned sight, He sits at noon the stars, whose light Shall glorify the coming day.

Here let me pause, my quest forego; Enough for me to feel and know That in the heart of each and all, The best and fairest, and the best, Who, gift with His immensities, Our vast and star-hung system sees, Smell as the clustered Piazas, Moves not alone the heavenly quivers, But waves the spring-time's grassy spires; Guards not Archangel foot alone, But deigns to guide and keep my own; Speaks not alone the words of fate, Which words destroy and words create, But whispers in my spirit's ear, A tongue of love or warning fear, In language none would hear.

To him, from wandering long and wild, I come, and shade his path with mind, Like dew fall settling on my find, Assured that all I know is lost, And humbly trusting for the rest, I turn from the bewildering scene Of his diffused Omnipotence, From Nature and her mooks art, And back and back my mooks art, To the still silence in my heart, His Avatar of Love unfold, The Eternal Beauty new and old! J. G. W.

"We learn that the Hon. Luther Bradish has been appointed by the President to be Assistant Treasurer of the United States at the city of New York, in the place of John Young, deceased, and that the appointment was on Tuesday confirmed by the Senate."

What's the matter? Mr. Bradish used to be as good an anti-slavery man as Senator Seward himself. We have not heard of his conversion.

A. H. LUKEMANN, the Austrian Charge d'Affaires, left Washington yesterday, on his return to Vienna. It is understood that previously to his departure he addressed an Official Note to the Secretary of State, and communicated copies of it to the members of the Diplomatic Corps; but of the purport of this note we are unenlightened—Jb.

## POLITICAL MOVEMENTS.

Missouri.—The Democrats of Missouri held their State Convention on the 5th ultimo, at Jefferson City. Both sections of the Democracy, Benton and Anti-Benton, were represented; the Bentonites had the majority, but the order of the day was, conciliation. The Convention agreed upon a series of resolutions, reaffirming the Baltimore resolutions of '48, and the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of '98; sanctioning the Compromise measures; upholding the right of instruction, declaring that the People have a right to instruct their Senators in Congress through the Legislature, and to hold the members of the Legislature accountable for any misrepresentation of their will in giving instructions; and disavowing any fellowship with Abolitionists or Nullifiers. The resolutions were intended to maintain the right of instruction, without implying censure of the course of Colonel Benton in appealing from the Legislature to the People.

An attempt by Dr. Lawry, an anti-Benton member, to make adherence to the Compromise measures a test, was voted down. General Sterling Price (Benton) was nominated for Governor; Dr. W. Brown (anti-Benton) for Lieutenant Governor. An electoral ticket, consisting of five Benton and four anti-Benton men, was nominated. The same proportion was observed in the election of delegates to the Baltimore Convention, and in the State Central Committee. No instructions were given to the delegates in relation to Presidential candidates, but a resolution was adopted, expressing a preference for the old ticket, Cass and Butler.

So far as we can judge from the proceedings, the two sections of the Democracy in Missouri have buried their differences.

The Whigs held their Convention at St. Louis on the 19th. The newspapers say that they were united and enthusiastic. Colonel Doniphan was nominated for the office of Governor. Delegates were chosen to the National Convention, and an electoral ticket was designated. Resolutions were adopted, expressing devotion to the Union, denouncing the further agitation of the Slavery Question, declaring the intention of the Whigs of Missouri to support no candidate for the State or National Legislature, or for the Presidency or Vice Presidency, "unless he is known or believed to be in favor of the Compromise measures as a final settlement of the Slavery Question, and opposed to reopening in the slightest degree the question involved in them for renewed agitation;" demanding protection to American industry, and aid to river and harbor improvements, and the Convention further resolved that Mr. Fillmore was its choice for the Presidency. Mr. Bates was its first, Mr. Crittenden its second, choice for the Vice Presidency.

North Carolina.—The Whigs of this State in their State Convention recommended Mr. Fillmore as their candidate for the Presidency, and Mr. Graham for the Vice Presidency, but they added the following resolution:

"Third, That whilst thus declaring our choice for the Presidency and Vice Presidency, we will, nevertheless, cordially support the nominees of the Whig National Convention, if they are unequivocally in favor of sustaining the Compromise measures, which we insist should be adhered to and carried into faithful execution, as a final settlement, in the principle and substance, of all dangerous and exciting subjects they embrace. And we declare it, as the opinion of this Convention, that no candidate for the Presidency or Vice Presidency can obtain the vote of the Whig party of North Carolina unless he is, beyond doubt, in favor of maintaining the entire series of Compromise measures."

Florida.—The Florida Democratic Convention met on the 19th ultimo, and nominated James E. Broome for Governor, A. T. Maxwell for Congress, and D. L. Vulee and S. W. Spencer for delegates at large to the National Convention. A series of resolutions were adopted, the first of which affirms the Virginia resolutions of 1798; the second endorses the Baltimore resolutions of 1840; the third deprecates the revival of any past issues; and the fourth appoints fourteen delegates to the Baltimore Convention, unimposed by any restriction as to the support of any individual, but it was understood that the first choice of the Convention was Douglas for President, and Jefferson Davis for Vice President.

Maine.—At a meeting of the Free Soil members of the Legislature of Maine, held at Augusta, week before last, the following, among other resolutions, were adopted:

"Resolved, That the cause of American Liberty is still dear to the hearts and strong in the unwavering purposes of its friends; that it is to be steadily prosecuted through whatever vicissitudes it may pass; and that we admit no settlement, which allows the extension of slavery or the slave power, or the perversion of our General Government into an instrument of oppression."

"Resolved, That we are in favor of holding a National Free Soil Convention, as early as may be, to nominate candidates for President and Vice President of the United States, for the united support of free men in the approaching campaign."

"Resolved, That we recommend to that Convention the names of John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, and Samuel Lewis, of Ohio, for such candidates."

The Convention also chose eighteen delegates to the National Convention. The *Portland Inquirer*, one of the ablest and truest papers in New England, in its last number, runs up the ticket nominated, and accompanies it with the following:

"Today we give to the breeze the banner recommended at Augusta for 1852. It is an emblem and promise of righteous Government, and every free heart in Maine will hail it like the rainbow on the bosom of the deluge. It tells of Liberty, Justice, Glory; of Hope, Joy, Prosperity, and Peace perpetual. It is the flag of our country's young men—true, noble, gallant, just."

Alabama.—The Whigs in several districts of Alabama are indicating a strong desire for the reorganization of the Whig party in that State. A county meeting has recommended the holding of a State Convention of Whigs on the fourth Monday in May, for the purpose of appointing delegates to a National Convention, and sustaining Mr. Fillmore.

South Carolina.—The State Convention of South Carolina, to consider the subject of Secession, met at Columbia, South Carolina, on the 25th. Governor Means was chosen President. A committee of twenty-one was appointed to which was referred the act of the Legislature for the appointment of deputies to a Southern Congress, and the call of a Convention. Of course, nothing will be done.

Last Thursday, majority and minority reports were submitted, and the majority report solemnly affirms the right of Secession, and declares that South Carolina is now restrained from its exercise from considerations of expediency only. The same consideration will restrain the Convention from attempting any action

Maryland.—The Whig members of the Maryland Legislature lately assembled in Congress, passed resolutions in favor of the finality of the Compromise, and in favor of Mr. Fillmore as their candidate for the Presidency, but declaring their willingness to support any other true Whig who has stood, and continues to stand, by the finality of the Compromise.

Michigan.—The Democratic State Convention of Michigan, held at this morning (April 28)—133 members were present.

Immediately after the organization, the Hon. B. F. Wetherell offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

"Resolved, That the roll of delegates be called by the Secretary, and that each member of the Convention, on his name being called, announce his preference for the Democratic candidate for the Presidency."

The members announced Lewis Cass as their choice, without a dissenting voice.

Governor McLelland was elected one of the delegates at large to the Baltimore Convention.

Illinois.—The Democratic State Convention of Illinois, which met a short time since, passed resolutions affirming the finality of the Compromise, and unanimously recommended Mr. Douglas for the Presidency. This course was to be expected. Texas has nominated Houston; Pennsylvania, Buchanan; Michigan, Cass; Indiana, Lane; Kentucky, Butler; Illinois, Douglas; and Marcy is understood to be the candidate of a majority of the delegates from New York. The Democracy is abundantly blessed with candidates.

## THE QUESTION OF THE DAY.

There was a time when Mr. Stephens of Georgia was singular among Southern men, for his liberality on the question of Slavery. He was classed with those who, while offering no defence for Slavery on abstract grounds, pleaded in excuse for its toleration an inexorable necessity. The *Southern Herald*, of Athens, Georgia, in its issue of September 25th, 1851, quotes the following language, which it says was held by Mr. Stephens in Congress in the year 1845, in a speech advocating the annexation of Texas:

"This acquisition will give additional power to the Southwestern section in the National Councils, and for this purpose I want it. Not that I am desirous to see an extension of the 'Area of Slavery'; but as no gentleman has said its effect would be, 'I am no defender of Slavery in the abstract. Liberty always had charms for me, and I would rejoice to see all of Adam's family, in every land and clime, set free in our Declaration of Independence as natural and inalienable, if a stern necessity, bearing the mark and impress of the Creator himself, did not, in some cases, the States where Slavery now exists. But I have no wish to extend it to other countries; and if the annexation of Texas were for the sole purpose of extending Slavery where it does not now exist, I would oppose it."

The liberal views of Mr. Stephens, we presume, endangered his political standing. Men's circumstances and interests modify their sentiments insensibly. A few years later, like Mr. Clingman of North Carolina, once remarkable for his toleration, he was transformed into an extreme pro-slavery man, and allied himself with those who considered the claim and policy of extending Slavery to countries in which it had no existence, of far more importance than the preservation of the Union. And now we find him, as all party organizations, and the Union itself, as less vital than the perpetuation of a law for catching runaway slaves, whose provisions are a disgrace to the country.

In a speech in the House on the 27th, he assumed the ground that the Whig and Democratic parties represented no principles, no questions—that an organization aspiring to the title of a National Party, must be organized on the questions of the day. But he asked, "What is the prominent question of the day?" We commend his answer to the consideration of men who have any ideas beyond a cotton plantation.

"The great, leading, controlling, prominent question," he says, "which is likely to enter into the contest, is the right, the constitutional right, of one section of the country to reclaim their slaves."

On this question he demands that parties shall be organized; he will support no party, no candidate, that does not make it a prominent question. All other subjects are dismissed as insignificant. Millions of money and thousands of lives have been sacrificed through the instigation of Congress to the subject of River and Harbor Improvements; but what is this upon the reclamation of a few miserable runaways? How shall the public lands be disposed of? Shall we in the modification of our revenue system that may become necessary, act with an ultimate view to Free Trade, or on the principle of Protection? How far shall the aid of Government be given to monopolies, for the sake of encouraging competition in steam navigation with foreign Powers; or can it be given at all, without serious detriment to individual enterprise, which has hitherto been found a sufficient basis for our maritime greatness? What shall be the policy of the country in the great conflicts between Despotism and Republicanism which threaten the stability of the Old World? These, if we may believe Mr. Stephens, are not "the questions of the day."

They are not to be named in comparison with the "great, leading, controlling, prominent question"—shall we have the precious right recognized, of catching a few runaways, who from time to time make an exodus from the land of bondage in search of a Northern Canaan? Question of Questions! What sublime principles it involves! Every nation has its mission—and what American will not glory in the thought, that the mission of our Model Republic is, to provide for catching runaways! This is the grand question on which Parties are to be organized, and candidates are to plant themselves! Who can hereafter doubt the breadth and nationality of the statesmanship of Mr. Stephens?